PLEASURES

Tobacco

276 [249] Tobacco (so´go'on) grew on the west side of the lake, particularly at Udjiu west of Huron. It was not cultivated or pruned. When full grown the leaves were gathered, dried, pounded, moistened, and made into cakes called po'on. It was smoked in cane pipes (hal'a, cane). (The cane grew only in the foothills; none grew near the lake.) Wood, stone, or clay pipes were not used.

The Chunut informant said that tobacco was mixed with baked, ground shells (ka´pap), moistened, and drunk only by people who sought supernatural power. It caused vomiting and induced spurious dreams "that were good for nothing." The drinking of tobacco was denied by the Tachi informant; this and J.A.'s evident disapproval of the practice suggest that the custom was not a general indulgence among the [757] lake people. J.A. said tobacco and lime mixture was most frequently used as a salve or poultice applied to a painful spot. Doctors used it to cure by chewing it up, spitting and blowing it onto a patient. If a patient were very ill, the doctor himself would smoke and eat tobacco to induce a narcosis in which he saw the cause of the illness.

[757] Ordinary persons smoked tobacco whenever they felt so inclined. If frightened, they would chew a little tobacco.

Games

524 616 The Tachi informant, M.G., briefly described several familiar games.

The hand game (wehala´nwːca) was played by both sexes, but at night only. There were three or four on a side, opposed by moieties. One pair of sticks was used; they were hidden under a blanket. Guessing and hiding were accompanied by singing. Twelve counters were used, and playing continued until one side had acquired them all.

The walnut dice game (huču´ːš) was played by both sexes, but in the daytime only. Moieties were opposed. Eight dice were thrown, counting thus: two or three up, 1; all up, 3; all down, 4.

● 526 616 Shinny (ko´nwːč) was played only after a mourning ceremony, according to M.G. (This may be a misunderstanding derived from two interpreters.) Both sexes played, opposed by moiety. The field for play had the starting point in the center and a goal post at each end. The Tokelyuwich moiety played toward the western post, the Nutuwich toward the east. Each side had its own ball. The object was to be the first to hit the goal post. There was no return play to the starting point.

526 616 The pole and stick game (aiki'wič) was for men only, moieties were opposed, and it was played at any season of the year. Although M.G. says her husband, Tsai'wal, was a good player, she does not know the count.

[164] The pole and tossed hoop game (hole'wič) was not played by the Tachi or, M.G. thinks, by the Wechihit. Once a Telamni man came over to Telweyit and showed them how to play, but it was not carried on.

[165] Matching lines was a game played by two men of opposite moieties on the last [celebration] day of a mourning ceremony. It was done in the daytime; no songs accompanied it. Each man had a gambling tray under which, on the ground, he made a long and a short mark. The man who was matching his opponent won if his long line were on the same side, i.e., opposite his opponent's.

J.A. described a favorite Chunut and Telamni game which figures in a Chunut myth.[30] This she called k'a'nal (she gave aiki'wič as a general word for games); it was played only by men. A pole of button willow (kai''iwan) or another straight willow (sala''am) about 8 to 10 feet long was set up in the ground. Fastened to it at the top was a ring (sota''al), about twelve inches in diameter, of pliable willow wrapped with tule string. A ball (ai'yak') made of tules wrapped into a spherical shape[31] was tossed through the ring. The player stood about fifteen feet away for tossing, farther away if he were shooting arrows through the ring, a favorite alternative. A successful throw counted one, but if done twice in succession the player "won everything."

String Figures

524 The cat's cradle was called by the same word as the carrying net (tsuno'lus). J.A. knew only two types. One was the "sweathouse" of other regions, inappropriately called "tule house" by J.A., and when doubled, that is, one on each hand, "two tule houses." The second type is the European "cutting trick," which J.A. did not name but which she demonstrated as cutting finger, wrist, and neck.

Flower Festival

301 221 The magnificent sea of wild-flower blooms which covers the San Joaquin plains from March to May was greeted with rejoicing by the people dwelling there. During this season young people went out to pick the flowers and to construct crowns of flowers for themselves. There

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[30] Gayton and Newman, 17.

[31] Informant was uncertain of ball's construction.

622 disheveled hair hanging down over the face."
624 [Possibly Pages mistook the winatum and his functions for those of a chiefly official.]

Games.---Two dice games, and hoop and pole,
524 are recorded by Pages. The first, for women
525 only, was played with dice of snail shells filled with tar, thrown on a basketry tray. The count was based on "the number of shells which stop mouth up, whether they are fewer, an equal number, or more than those which stop mouth down." The play passed from one to another, "each one wagering some little article appropriate to woman's use."

Men played at stick dice of which there were ten, marked on one face with cross lines. The sticks were tossed at a "wooden tube, three spans long and one in width." They all had to fall mark outward [upward?] in order to win. A successful player continued until he failed, when the next player took up the sticks.

526 The tossed hoop and pole game he describes as played on a smooth space some 10 yards long and wide enough for two runners, all enclosed with a fence of brush and grass slightly over a span high. There were two players, with pointed poles 4 yards [as translated] long, and "a little wheel made of strong straps fastened together so as to leave in the center a hole about the size of a real [the size of a dime, tr.]." As the hoop was thrown in the air, both men hurled their poles at it "so as to catch the wheel or thread it upon the stake before it falls to the ground."

Signals.---Pages states that during all-
202 night celebrations watchmen were posted "who give signals between themselves and for the entire village by whistling or by strumming the cords of their bows, thereby giving notice that the enemy is approaching, that a house is burning, or that there is some other accident in the silence of the night." Estudillo saw signal fires in use throughout the valley.[128]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 909]

805 seed-gathering baskets [for summer use]; three
821 kinds of clover and wild onions were eaten.
ko´toi tiša´miu: late spring (J.B.);
May (J.B.)
192 haiya´di: summer (M.L., M.P., J.B.);
June to October or November (J.B.). The very long season of "dried up" grass; people moved to seed-gathering camps. Toward the end of this season the mourning ceremonies were held after people were back in their villages (M.L.).
wu´so: autumn (M.P.); wu´sao: autumn (J.B.)
tomo´kšiu: winter (M.L., M.P., J.B.) (M.P. also gave ñe´ao, perhaps from Spanish nevar, to snow); December to January (J.B.). The acorns were just down; there were fogs, and later rain and frost. The mountains got white; about November to March (M.L.).

PLEASURES

Games

526 Shinny.---There were two forms of shinny (kotdi´w:š), one played with a ball (o´dod) and one with a hoop (wuku´w:č). Both were essentially a race to see which of two opposing sides could propel its ball or hoop over the course, strike the turning post (kite´'u), and reach the goal hole (ko´w:š) first. The shinny stick (ku´t:t), slightly curved at one end, was preferably made of mountain ash (ča´poi). The length of the playing field (kota´dw:šu) depended somewhat on the number of players normally available. Since the ball or hoop was struck from partner to partner, the more players there were, the longer the course needed. A hole at the starting point was the goal for the finish, the course being marked at its opposite end by a post which the player must strike with his ball before turning about. He holed his ball at the finish.

If two men were trying to prove their individual prowess, the course would be shortened. In contests of this sort onlookers usually demanded six wins in succession. Otherwise six holes to either side in any order
[525] normally won the game. An onlooker was selected to hold whatever bets were made; he urged on each side impartially, calling on first one, then the other to win. Bettors, however, yelled encouragement to their favorites. There were no songs. There were no recognized rules which informants could give me, yet doubtless there was tacit agreement upon many points. An especially well played game which won admiration from spectators was called "pretty" (poiyo´mi).

Two to five partners played on each side. If the first man striking the ball did not succeed in making it reach his partner, he took another stroke, or as many strokes as necessary: the only penalty was the loss of time involved for him to run after the ball and strike again. Sometimes a "cranky" partner

526 would not run if his companion made poor strokes.

A variant of the game, in which only one ball was used, necessitated opponents' fighting for it all around the course. J.P. said this form of the game was generally condemned as "too rough" and 'no fun because there was more fighting than running."

In the foothill region, where there were no moiety divisions, the composition of opposing sides followed the will of the players -- friends, co-villagers, or relatives might join together or be opposed. In any case, the opposing side was called gu´'i, as were the complementary sides in mourning ceremonies. Women played as well as men, and occasionally even opposed them. There was no seasonal discrimination against the game save that brought about by excessive rain or disbanding for summer camping. Even during the week of the great mourning ceremony the game might be played, provided it was taken some distance from the scene of mourning and the shouting was not excessive. (J.P., S.G.)

When a hoop was used instead of a ball, the field was marked with a stake at each end. The hoop, about 18 inches in diameter, was of peeled willow bound with leather strips. The stick, about 4 feet long, was bent at one end. The bent end of the stick was hooked under the hoop which was tossed through the air to a partner. If the partner, holding up his stick, could succeed in catching it on the fly, he could run with it to the turning stake, where he would toss it by means of his stick to a third partner, or to the first man if but two were playing. A hoop which fell to the ground had to be tossed from this point with the stick. To be the first to return to the starting stake counted as one in tallying (J.P., S.G.).

Wukchumni and Yaudanchi women played this form of the game just as they did the one with the ball; Kroeber implies that this was exclusively a woman's game with the Chukchansi.[213]

Hoop and pole.--This game (wuku´w:č), which consisted of casting a straight pole at a rolling hoop, was a favorite masculine pastime. The aim was not to pierce the hoop with the pole, but to cause the hoop to fall atop the pole as it came to rest. This counted one (J.P.). Kroeber gives the name of the game as hochuwish, the pole, payas, the "buckskin-bound ring," tokoin, and the "carefully smoothed ground, often by the side of the sweat house" as i´n. "The game ... extended as far north as the Chukchansi."[214]

Chip and pole.--The object of this game (ai´ku´:č) was to shove a small block of wood toward a stake by means of a pole cast with a long underhand motion at the block. The block or "chip" (ai´y:š), about 2 inches in diameter and 3 to 4 inches long, was of peeled willow.

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[213]Handbook, 539.

[214]Ibid.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 919]

526 In playing, if one man's chip was near the goal stake, his opponent would try to slip his own between them. If it was possible to carry an opponent's chip along with one's own, two points were gained. (The scoring and winning counts of this game were not clear entirely.) Four men sometimes played in opposing pairs, but never more than this. It was exclusively a man's game, as was the hoop and pole (J.P.).

525 Dice game.--This game (huču´wič) was played only in the daytime and only by women (M.P., J.P., S.G.), although one informant (M.L.) said men occasionally played.

A coiled tray (koiyo´to), 18 to 24 inches in diameter, flat across the center and gently upcurved at the edges,[215] served as the base on which 8 dice (ho´wač) were cast. The dice were made from halves of walnut shell filled with pine pitch or asphalt into which bits of abalone shell were pressed. Since both walnut shells and asphalt are products of Chumash [177] territory it is probable that the dice are a southern importation.[216]

In playing, the dice were gathered in both hands cupped together, raised about two feet above the tray, and cast not directly downward but with a slight sideward movement. As the dice left the hands of an adept player, she clapped her hands together, and briskly waved the right hand as closely as she dared over the settling dice. This stereotyped gesture was theoretically supposed to fan the dice into falling in the preferred direction. Both M.P. and M.L., blind as she was, used these tactics, which greatly amused Powers when he witnessed the game:[217]

> The rapidity with which the game goes forward is wonderful, and the players seem totally oblivious to all things in the world beside. After each throw that a player makes she exclaims yet´-ni (equivalent to "one-y"), or wi-a-tak, or ko-mai-éh, which are simply a kind of sing-song or chanting. One old squaw, with scarcely a tooth in her head, one eye gone, her face all withered, but with a lower jaw of iron, and features denoting extraordinary strength of will -- a reckless old gambler, and evidently a teacher of others -- after each throw would grab into the basket, and jerk her hand across it, as if by the motion of the air to turn the dice over before they settled, and ejaculate wiatak! It was amusing to see the savage energy with which this fierce old hag carried on the game. The others were modest and spoke in low tones, but she seemed to be unaware of the existence of anybody around her.

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[215] The gambling tray differed in silhouette from the winnowing tray (tai´wan) for practical reasons (see fig. 3).

[216] The native California black walnut grew in Santa Barbara County and the southern California coastal areas (Jepson, 279). Pages (p. 75) mentions dice of small shells; possibly this is a translator's misunderstanding. Tray, dice, and manner of play are well illustrated by Holmes, (pls. 40, 41).

[217] Pp. 377-378.

276 the ear; only men smoked, the tobacco being pulverized seed, not leaves.[35]

323 Pottery (ki·wiš).---Clay, red clay, and clay dishes were called by the single term kiwiš; the clay pipe was šokmai. In the old days many old women made pottery. They went after the clay with a carrying net and digging stick. They "dug around until they got the right kind" [presumably with the correct admixture of sand], although they knew the best of the many places to go. The clay was laid on an old deerskin, put in the net, and taken home where it was given a thorough pounding on a bedrock mortar (pe·šin, acorn pounding place). The details of building up and finishing a pot P.D.W. could not describe well: the process was coiling, as elsewhere among Yokuts. After the pots were dried, they were fired in a pit filled with coals. This "took all morning" [probably longer]. [I failed to ask about a "slip" of gruel or of any other material.]

372 Firemaking.---Striking a fire (šike·tal) by means of rock or flint sparks in old times was never heard of by P.D.W. The "only way" to make fire was a buckeye board [hearth] called tu·pun (buckeye) and a pointed stick [drill] of white oak called še·ktaš. The drill was twirled between the palms, the hearth held down with the left foot.

GAMES

526 [181] Mayfield, who found his Choinimni hosts a jolly, fun-loving lot, describes several of their games. There was a gaming court near the center of each village; this was smoothed, tamped (stamped?), and covered with sand, and here an exhilarated crowd of players and spectators was often gathered.

Boys amused themselves by tossing dummy ducks of bark on the river and shooting them with arrows or throwing spears at them.

Pierced hoop and pole.---The pole was 10 feet long, the disc about 1-1/2 feet in diameter with a center hole of 2-3 inches. This disc was made up of rolled bark wound with split willow. This game was played by all, sometimes as many as thirty players, in sides 20 to 30 feet apart. As the disc was rolled from one side to the other, all tossed their poles at it. If the hoop was pierced, it [802] counted 2; if knocked over, 1. A scorekeeper called out the tally. Incidentally, counting was in the decimal system as with other Yokuts.

Stone disc and arrow.---A perforated stone disc, 3 to 4 inches in diameter, also used for arrow-straightening, was rolled across the court, and arrows were shot at it by young men. Scoring was like that for hoop and pole.

Other diversions were rolling globular stones into a hole and casting flat stones at a line.

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[35] Ibid.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 148b] Choinimni

524 Women's dice game.---This was played as by the Wukchumni (see Pt. I). In scoring, two or seven face sides up counted 1.

Hand game.---The hiding game was played by shuffling two sticks, one of which was marked, behind the back; apparently no blanket or other covering was used. The marked stick was guessed for. This was a man's game.

526 Football.---A ball of polished stone was propelled off the tip of the foot toward goal posts some two hundred yards apart. This was a very rough game with much pushing and shoving, perhaps like that disapproved of by J.P. (Wukchumni-Patwisha informant).

Shinny.---This was played with a wooden ball and a stick with curved end. It was said to be played roughly, usually by youths fourteen to twenty years of age.[16]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 The chief (di´ya) had powers similar to those of chiefs elsewhere; he sanctioned or rejected personal projects that affected the community, such as mourning ceremonies, building a sweat house, or moving out to campsites.[17] At Kulušao, the Tokelyuwich chief was Wato´ki, and the Nutuwich chief was A´hač. Following on Watoki came Gu´jam (John Hughes), and after Ahač, whose son had died, another Nutuwich named Toku´yan (Hammond Bill). After Gujam's death, his sister acted as chief in a casual way; and since Tokuyan's death there has been no Choinimni chief, although his son is alive and working at Bill Hancock's (1927). P.D.W. and others have asked him to function as chief, but he has refused to take on the expense and responsibility, which would consist largely in directing the aberrant funeral rites carried on in private.

624 Each chief had his own winatum (messenger). P.D.W. was Ahač's messenger (Ahač:n w:natum); both his parents had been Nutuwich winatums. The Choinimni "followed the father in everything" i.e., in moiety, totem, and [611] official positions, but not necessarily in professions such as doctoring. The Tokelyuwich messenger for Watoki was named Kuču´´i. When traveling, a messenger carried a tall walking [211] stick, which was sometimes painted red. He did not carry any beaded or knotted cord, or other mnemonic device to show the number of days before an assembly. He built public fires, got wood, food, and water for ceremonial gatherings, and was paid for all his services.

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[16] Ibid., 18-20.

[17] Jeff Mayfield's description of the chief's responsibilities and of the manner in which chiefs were selected and retained their positions is in accordance with my data from the Choinimni and other Yokuts (ibid., 28).

who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.

hu´iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.

ša´lu: black. Charcoal.

wa´wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green [black in earlier times?], and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.[54] She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, $5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numerical system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

1. yɛt	14. ha´čpam
2. po´noi	15. yɛ´čam
3. so´pɛn	16. čo´lpop
4. hatpa´nai	17. no´mčom
5. yɛčɛ´nɛl	18 mu´nčum
6. čo´lɛpi	19. no´mpom
7. nu´mčɛn	20. ponoi ṭe´yiu
8. mo´noš	21. ponoi ṭeyao yɛt
9. no´nɛp	22. ponoi ṭeyao ponoi
10. ṭe´yao	23. ponoi ṭeyao so´pɛn,
11. yɛ´čam.	etc.
12. bo´čtop	100. yɛt pi´ča
13. so´pi´op	1000. yɛt mi´la (Sp.)

GAMES

Shinny.--This game (ko´nɛč). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha´lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

Football.--For this game (i´wač) two posts were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

[54] Cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

[P. 163a] Kechayi

526 other, and returned. Both sexes played. Pairs of men with two balls often played against each other.

524 Walnut dice game.--While this (huču ša) was primarily a woman's game, men occasionally played. It was tabu at night. As usual, the eight nutshell dice (ho´wač) were tossed on a broad coiled tray (ča´p:t). The dice are nutshell halves, filled with pitch. In the old days a round root called ka´uhai, which grew in the mountains, was cut in a hemispherical shape and painted.

The count as given by E.M. was: two face up or down, 1; three face up or down, 1; all up or all down, 4.

Twelve counters were used and were handled by a scorekeeper (wiče´l:t:).

Stick dice game.--This too was a woman's game (da´lag) which men occasionally played. There was no limitation on the hour of play. There were eight stick dice of split elderwood (wise´ta). The flat face was unornamented; the back was decorated with streaks of red paint. All the sticks were bunched in one hand and thrown down on a deerskin (in later years on a blanket). The motion was an under- or backhand one: the sticks were not dashed directly downward. The count was the same as in hučuša (above).

Hand game.--Both sexes played this game (we·hela´oča), either apart or mixed. As many as wished played on each side. Each side had its own pair of bones. These were about two inches long. The one to be guessed for was wrapped at its center with a few strands of a black root (the one used for black pattern in basketry).

As the guessing progressed, singing was kept up constantly. Men hid the bones behind their backs, women under a skin or blanket on their knees. The bones were passed to one's neighbor only after continual losses on the hider's part (i.e., winning by the opposing guesser), but no accurate explanation of how this operated in practice could be made by E.M.

The counters, kept by a scorekeeper, numbered twenty.

String figures.--E.M. claimed she had never seen these, but a Chukchansi (Dolly) who was listening volunteered the statement that her people used them to predict the sex of an unborn child.[35] The trial was made by the sister of the prospective father. Dolly did not know how to make the figures.

Cup and ball.--E.M. had never heard of this game.

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[35] See the figures "baby girl" and "baby boy" (Barrett and Gifford, Miwok Material Culture, pl. LXIX, figs. 5-8), which probably are similar to those meant. It was not clear, however, in what the element of prediction consisted.

[P. 201 9] Chukchansi

769 783 The Chukchansi at Picayune were the ceremonial washers of the Chukchansi at Aplau. J.R. described the washing.

"The people who live right there, maybe a bunch from Picayune, come up. They heat water in a basket with hot rocks. Those people from Picayune wash the people who live right here [the mourning hosts] with this warm water. The people here give [in return] maybe half of the deer meat, and acorn meal to go with it, which their women have pounded up."

When the Picayune Indians get through washing the mourners, they all go back to their sleeping camps. The host captain, who lives here, goes back after being washed and sits down. He calls all the [his ?] people around. He says that now they are washed [ritually cleansed] and they can enjoy themselves. There was no definite plan of entertainment. If they [526] felt like singing, they sang. Various games were played, a footrace was run, and so on. "They play anything they want."

769 527 They would play for a week, in the old times, said J.R. They ate the food that was ready. They had some acorn meal already pounded and cooked; they cooked more as needed. Some of this was given to the visitors. When they had enjoyed themselves for perhaps two days, possibly longer (they usually stayed a week), everybody went home. They just had fun. Played games. Danced. It was just to have fun. They just got together for that. The old fellows stayed near the fire [outdoors or in a sweat house ?]. The young girls got out to sing, dance, holler, have fun. The boys played together too. The young people all ran around, jumping, dancing, boys and girls together. "After it is all over, it is finished. No one says anything more about it."

769 535 Dancing was the chief form of entertainment, however. Every night there would be dancing, only a little during the day. A doctor, if he knew how, would dance -- not because he was a shaman, but because he was a dancer. There would be three or four good dancers from Picayune, three or four from Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi, etc.), the same from Mariposa (Miwok). The captain of the community would tell certain persons to dance to entertain his visitors. Then a visiting captain would have his men perform. And so on: "when one bunch quits, another will start."

769 625 During all this time there were Indian "police" or managers on duty, who functioned only at this time. They went around with the captains to preserve order. They exhorted people to behave peacefully, to be good. They were called kut'eu.

769 No understanding of Chukchansi mourning rites is complete without perusal of an eyewitness account by Stephen Powers.[133] Kroeber's description of the ceremony should also be ex-

[133] Ibid., 384-391.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 201 b] Chukchansi

769 amined in this connection, as it contains more detail than is presented here.[134] Both Powers' and Kroeber's records are too lengthy to permit reprinting; neither contradicts any of Miss Thrall's material, given above. However, it may be noted that while Kroeber says "the use of effigies ... appears not to be participated in by ... the Chukchansi ...," Powers specifically states that "another woman had an image, rudely constructed of shawls and clothing to represent the dead woman, sister to Kolomu-shim."[135]

769 293 Besides the usual display of basket, beads, and feather finery at the ceremony Powers witnessed, there was exhibited an elaborate plume.

"But the most remarkable article was a great plume, nearly six feet long, shaped like a parasol slightly opened, mostly of ravens' feathers, but containing rare and brilliant plumage from many birds of the forest, topped with a smaller plume or kind of coronet, and lavishly bedecked through all its length with bulbs, shell-clusters, circlets of feathers, dangling festoons -- a magnificent bauble, towering far above all, with its glittering spangles and nodding plume on plume..."[136]

No such lavish ornament was described to me as part of the ceremonial paraphernalia of other Yokuts groups, yet presumably such were [171] made and carried at mourning ceremonies in aboriginal times, for a comparable plume is reported from the Tübatulabal.[137]

GAMES AND DANCING

Games

526 Football.--This was played between two goal posts. Two men from opposing sides each placed a foot on the ball. Then each tried to kick it toward his own team of three or four men who attempted to take (kick ?) it to the opposite goal.[138]

Hoop and pole.--This was especially a young woman's game. There were four or five on a side who attempted to hurl a hoop toward a goal by means of sticks.

525 Hand game.--This was played by both sexes, mixed or separate. Two pairs of cougar bones were used, one of each pair being marked with a black band. The plain bone was guessed for. Four people played in opposed pairs, each of the two having a pair of bones. The holders

[134]Kroeber, Handbook, 501.

[135]Ibid.; Powers, 388.

[136]Powers, 388.

[137]Voegelin, Tübatulabal Ethnography, 70.

[138]Of the games recorded by Thrall only football and shell dice are omitted by Kroeber when referring to Chukchansi (Handbook, 539-540). -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 2029] Chukchansi

put the bones in their fists, which they gyrated rapidly, or put behind the back, ending by crossing their arms and holding their fists under each armpit. The guesser, on the opposite team, pointed at his chosen location for the white bone. If the guess was correct, the bones went to uhim (the guesser); if incorrect, one of ten counters was given the holder. When one guess was correct, but the second wrong, the holder became the next guesser. Score was kept by a scorekeeper who held ten counters. The partners first acquiring all ten counters won. Then they rested awhile, put up more stakes, and then began again. A crowd of onlookers always stood by, carrying side bets. No moiety opposition was followed, according to J.R., who understood the moiety situation well. M.N. added that there might be several people on each side but only four active players at a time. There were many songs which these other members of the team sang. The holding side sang to try to confuse the guessers.

Shinny.---In this game, said M.N. a ball is hit with sticks toward goal holes about one-half mile apart. The holes are marked with posts. Each side defended its goal. The players stood between the posts. The ball, about 8 inches through, was of skin stuffed with grass.

Shinny variant.---A circular form of shinny was played with one goal hole about three inches in diameter. The ball was a "birch" knot.[139] Players stood in a circle, one side defending the hole, the other attempting to put the ball in it. The sticks were the usual ones of chaparral wood (Ceanothus, manzanita ?).

Shell dice game.---A curious game was described by M.N. It was a favorite of old people, especially women. Sand, in which there were a few shells, was filled into a circular tray. Then "two people turned the sand over with their hands. The one that does it best gets the stick (counter)." There are shells in the sand. The score is made according to how the shells fall. The winner would get a prize -- food, money, a nose ornament, or ear plugs with quail feather ornament, etc.

Stave dice.---A flat stick of elderwood, about five by one inches, was thrown with a handful of elderberries onto a flat surface. If the carved side of the stick was uppermost, the thrower won one point; if not, or if the stave was concealed by the berries, nothing was made, and the opponent took the next toss. This game was accompanied by songs.

Spear-throwing game.---A screen of boughs ten to fifteen feet high was erected, and on each side, some ten feet in front and behind it,

[139] The notch (sic) of wood is from a tree growing by the creek; it has white bark, dark slightly roundish green leaves. When the wind blows, the leaves rustle. The bark pulls off horizontally. The tree has dark colored little burrs on every limb. Thrall and interpreter suggest birch; probably sycamore. -- A.H.G.

526 stood a post. Opposing players stood on each side of the screen and endeavored to strike the post concealed from them by tossing long spear-like sticks (longer than arrows) over the blind. The stick nearest the post won a point. An umpire (scorekeeper ?) stood at the end of the screen where he could watch both sides. The opposing players were named as a group, said M.N., one for a bird the other for an animal [moiety ?].

[292] [171] No special clothing was worn for games, said M.N. All the games she described were played by both Chukchansi and Miwok at Picayune and Ahwahnee. She mentioned here her grandfather, a Chukchansi, who later married into Anwahnee, a Miwok village (presumably to imply methods of diffusion).

524 [177] The informant N.W. described games which she claimed were aboriginal but are suspect as of white source, perhaps modified by acculturative processes. The first might be played anywhere; native names should have been got for the other two.

Throwing sticks.--Boys frequently played with sticks about fifteen inches long. They threw them about, one stick at another.

Jackstones.--Girls, very rarely boys, played with twenty pebbles. One pebble was thrown up in the air, another picked up, and the thrown one caught as it fell; this routine was continued until a miss occurred. The winner, who successfully picked up all twenty, had the privilege of thumping the loser twenty times, first on the knuckles, then on the nose (twenty thumps total). This made some girls cry.

London Bridge.--This was played by girls ten to fifteen years old. A couple stood facing each other, clapped their hands together. Other children in line, filed under the clapping arms, and the last in line was captured, if possible, by the couple. The one caught was then picked up by the feet and shoulders and swung back and forth until he named his family's totemic animal.[140] Those so caught were out of the game. When all were disposed of, the first couple was replaced by another pair.

If boys played this game, they did so by themselves. It was a favorite at large gatherings. N.W. had played this, saying it was known long before the coming of the whites. A song accompanied the game as follows.

bala'	bala'	'omis
clap	clap	mother

This was sung over and over until the last in line, off guard, had been caught.

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[140] Does this imply a normal restraint in naming or telling one's totemic animal, or is it no more significant than if an American child were asked to tell his middle name?

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His [534 533] only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 344 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[141] This was where J.R.'s family "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

622 796 When the chiefs wanted something done, they called their people to a big assembly fire. There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other [624] places also performed; each dance was said to be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[141] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.229a] Western Mono NS25

were identical with that of the Wukchumni. The Eastern Mono used these nets when coming over on trading trips.

MONEY, NUMERAL SYSTEM

All money came from the west through the medium of trade. B.O. thought that the Tachi themselves made humana; the Waksachi retain the Yokuts name for this slender tubular bead. They were valued at about twenty-five cents each according to B.O.; S.O. said they came about ten for one dollar, or eight if they were extra long. The small clamshell discs (močo´ko) were measured Yokuts-style around the hand and wrist (fig. 14, e, f, Pt. I). This length was then doubled and called a muke´č:t, and valued at about two dollars according to B.O. S.O.'s evaluation is wholly different, five cents for once around the hand and doubled (1 mukeč:t), ten cents. This is more in line with other statements. B.O. may have had the looped-up arm's-length unit in mind.

When red and blue European beads were introduced, these were measured by the handful, the red being more esteemed. The red ones were called piša´kono´gidi, the blue ones šil:´mkai in Waksachi.

Numerals (Michahai, S.O.)

1. yet	15. y:´čum
2. pu´noi	16. čo´lpum
3. so´p:n	17. no´mčum
4. hatpa´na	18. mu´nčum
5. yit:´žn:l	19. no´npom
6. ču´lipi	20. punoi´ tsi'ao
7. no´mč:n	21. punoi tsi'ao yet
8. mo´noš	22. punoi tsi'ao punoi
9. no´n:p	23. punoi tsi'ao sop:n,
10. tsi'a´o	etc.
11. y:´čam	30. sop:n tsi'ao, etc.
12. po´ctom	100. yet pi´ča
13. co´yum	1000. tsi'ao piča
14. ha´čpan	

PLEASURES

Games

The following games were played by the Waksachi.

Shinny.--This game (koniu´šiko, Michahai; nanata´kow:t, Waksachi) was played with a hole at one end of the field and a post at the other. The ball had to be holed five times, though not successively, in order to win. When the ball was struck to a partner down the field and did not reach him, he had to come down the field to get it (i.e., the striker did not go after it).

This was the favorite game for betting and side betting. Usually three or four men played on a side. There was no special way of choos-

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 229 b] Western Mono NS 25

W Y 526

ing partners but, when visitors were present, it was usual for local and visiting groups to oppose each other.

Ring and pole.---Two men would play this game (ho'o´tuš, Michahai; na'a´ñapai'š:t, Waksachi) against each other. Each had his own ring and pole. The ring (wiki´no) was about nine inches in diameter, of many strands of string bound with fine string; it was rather pliable -- neither stiff nor floppy. A player picked up his ring with his left hand, tossed it forward, and with his right hand pitched his pole after it. If the ring and pole came to rest in contact, it counted one; to pierce the ring counted nothing. There was no limit on the score; the largest won: "players just stopped when they got tired" (B.O.).

Pitching stones.---This game (nahai´witi·pima) was usually played by two pairs of opponents. Two stakes were set up about thirty feet apart. Each player had a flat stone which he threw at the stake with a sliding underhand motion. It counted one to be nearest the stake, two if both parthers' stones were nearer than those of their rivals. All players stood at one end, pitching at one stake, then all at the other, etc.

Pitching poles.---This game (ai´kaš, Michahai; nahai´w:tho·pima, Waksachi) was played like the one above with long poles pitched at the stakes instead of stones.

W Y 524 [765]

Dice game.---This was a woman's game (hutču´ša, both Michahai and Waksachi) and was played only during the day. During a mourning ceremony four women would play against four visitors. This was the Yokuts game with only six walnut-shell dice cast on the tray, and twelve counters for scorekeeping. Securing all the counters won the game. B.O. gave the following count: two face up, 1; three face down, 1; all up or all down, 5 (S.O. said 2).

Hand game.---This game (hana´oširo, Michahai; nai'a´nw:t, Waksachi) was played any time of day by both sexes; it was the favorite evening game. A pair of bones or short sticks, one marked by a string tied round it, was hidden in the hands, the hiding being done under a blanket. Twelve stick counters won the game, although this could be changed by common consent, e.g., all the counters could be won twice, etc.

When a large number of people played, the guessing progressed by pairs, that is, two people had guesses at the same hiding, no revelation being made on the first guess. If one was correct, it counted 1, if both, 2; but both had to be correct to secure the bones for the guessers' side The marked bone was guessed for.

The hiders sang all together while the guessers were deciding on their choice. The tone was laughingly derisive and intended to confound the guessers.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

323 a little further. But the inference of a stimulus, however indirect, coming through their immediate Shoshonean neighbors from the pottery-making Shoshoneans of the south or [illegible] can hardly be [174] avoided; and therewith the interpretation of an ultimate southwestern origin of the art.

PIPES AND TOBACCO.

276 The pipe is small among the Yokuts. (Pl. 30, *c*, *d*.) A wooden 171 pipe is found among the Chukchansi and Gashowu; the Yaudanchi and southern tribes normally used a bit of cane, which was carried in the pierced lobe of the ear. The northern Yokuts implement suggests the southern Californian stone pipe in size and shape, and the Mohave equivalent of clay. Outwardly it is similar to the abbreviated Miwok pipe, but the latter has a very short reed or stem inserted as a mouthpiece. Occasionally a pipe with enlarged bowl, of Pomo shape but very much smaller, is to be found among the northerly Yokuts. All the Yokuts declare that they did not use stone pipes; and the random finds of prehistoric material in their habitat include very few, if any, such implements.

276 The reason for the abortiveness of the Yokuts pipe is to be found in the fact that a common practice of all the tribes was to eat tobacco instead of smoking it. This custom is affirmed by the Chukchansi, Gashowu, Tachi, Wükchamni, Yaudanchi, and Yauelmani, and was therefore evidently universal. Garcés, in 1776, found a Serrano Shoshonean tribe bordering on the Yokuts, either the Kitanemuk or the Alliklik, following the same practice, to the serious discomfort of his unaccustomed Mohave companions. One method was to [170] mix the leaves with fresh-water mussel shells that had been burned to lime. This procedure is of interest because it recurs in the northernmost part of the Pacific coast. A probably less usual plan was to drink a decoction of tobacco in water. In either event vomiting followed except for the long-hardened. The after effects of the emetic may have been pleasant. At any rate they were considered beneficial, and in some cases at least they were thought [787] to impart supernatural efficiency. The Chukchansi speak of being able to detect wizards after eating tobacco.

GAMES.

526 Among the Yokuts the guessing or hand game becomes less important than among the tribes of northern California. Its place in the prime estimation of men is taken, as in parts of southern California, by the hoop and pole and the shinny game, though which of these two enjoyed preeminence it is hard to say—perhaps shinny.

This game, *katawish*, was named from the shinny stick, *kated*. The ball was called *odot*. It was not shinny in our sense, played

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

with one ball, but rather a form of the ball or stick race of the Southwest, each party propelling its knob of white oak with sticks instead of feet. The course, however, was short, within a definite field, the *katadwishchu;* and among the Chukchansi the ball had to be holed to win. 526

Chukchansi women played the same game with straighter sticks, and threw a hoop in place of striking the ball.

Another variant, though for men, was lacrosse, *ch'ityuish*, named after the racket, *ch'itei*. The "net" was nothing but a loop that half fitted the ball. This game was secondary to the *katdwish*.

In hoop and pole the throwing stick was called *payas*, the rolling buckskin-wound ring *tokoin*, and the carefully smoothed ground, often by the side of the sweat house, *i'n*. The game itself, *hochuwish*, was substantially that of the Mohave; it extended as far north as the Chukchansi.

In the *aikwich* the pole was thrown at a sliding billet, *t'ich*. The same name is now applied to the Spanish "nine men's morris": the men are *aiek*.

A third form was the *hadwwush*, in which darts were thrown at a mark hidden by a fence of brush.

There is no record of any Yokuts cup and ball game.

The guessing game was called *wehlawash* by the Chukchansi, *a'liwash* by the Yauelmani, *hi'uniwich* by the Yaudanchi. The former, like the northern Californians, used wooden pieces, or in a good set, bones; the latter, bits of cane slipped, as in southern California, over an endless string to prevent the deceit of interchange after the guess. The marked piece was called "man" and guessed for; the plain one was the "woman." The Yaudanchi shot out one finger if he meant the hand at which he pointed, but two to indicate the ignored side as containing the "man." When there were two pairs of players confronting each other, a single finger signified a guess at the hand indicated and at the partner's opposite hand; two fingers, the same hand of both players. These complications look like arbitrary elaborations; but like most such Californian devices, they spring from an intensive development of the spirit of the game. A gesture begun with one finger can be finished with two if the instant suffices for recognition of a trace of satisfaction in the opponent's countenance as he realizes an impending false guess. These attempts to provoke betrayal imply instantaneous shiftings of features and fingers and lightninglike decisions and reactions; and it is impossible to have seen a Californian Indian warmed to his work in this game when played for stakes—provided its aim and method are understood—and any longer justly to designate him mentally sluggish and emotionally 525

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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103
131
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Site of the old Indian village of Kawlparwpuh (NW¼ of the NE¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M), named for the wild gourds which grew there in abundance and which the Indian children used for footballs. The site is on Cedar Creek about four miles below Glennville. Many inter-tribal football games were held on this field, players coming from as far away as Tulare Lake, Kings River and Tejon Canyon.

[525]

and game grounds on Cedar Creek about five miles below Glennville (NW ¼ of the NE ¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M). It was named for the wild gourds which grew there and with which the Indian children played football. About two miles north of the village of White River is a high rocky hill which was named *Waytupkul*.

On upper Grizzly Gulch, about one mile below the Blue Mountain Mine, where the gulch has been dug up by mining, was a Kumachisi village known as *Trahntrahnu*. Grizzly Gulch was known as *N'kawn Tultuk*, meaning the same as the present name. On Grizzly Gulch, just below where the Woody-White River road now crosses, was the Kumachese village of *Wuknaw*.

On Poso Creek there were a number of villages of the *Paleuyami*. In Lynns Valley, on the west branch of Poso Creek, was the village of *Hulmiu*. At Poso Flats, just below the upper forks of Poso Creek, were two Paleuyami villages, on the west side of the creek, *Siketepo* (Sick-e-te'-po) and on the east side, *Bakeu*. Further south, between Poso Creek and Kern River, where their channels approach closest to each other, was

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 124 not Processed]

CHAPTER VII

GAMES

SHINNY

●526 It comes as a surprise to many persons to find that a number of the games played by pioneer white children were well known to the Indians. One of the most characteristic of these is Shinny. Shinny was probably the most wide-spread of any of the athletic-type games, and is said to have been common over the greater portion of North America. "Shinny on your own side" is not a new expression in the San Joaquin Valley. The game was called *Kah-dah-doo'-itch* by the Wukchumne Yokuts.

The shinny game was an extremely rough game among the Indians. We know this to be true of the game played by white boys, but we are assured that it was much rougher as played by young Indians. They would yell, push and shove, and strike each other on the shins with their clubs. They entered into the game in the most aggressive sort of way. In spite of all this, we are told by pioneers that they never saw a fight or quarrel in connection with an Indian game. This conforms very [157] well with what we know of Indian characteristics, as, except when under the influence of liquor, they possessed far more self-control than most white persons.

We are told by native Indians that several highly prized shinny clubs were included in the equipment of every well-regulated household. A great deal of labor was often expended in preparing the club, and it was very carefully preserved. Indians yet living say that when they were children they hunted along the banks of the streams for small saplings having a curved root exposed. The roots and lower portions of the saplings were carefully cut away and taken to the rancheria. They were then carefully whittled and scraped to shape, seasoned and hardened in the fire. The result was a smooth, nicely balanced club, resembling the hockey club now in use by white people.

A wooden ball, generally made from an oak burl, was used. It was about the size of a baseball, and was called *hupduish* (hoop-do'-ish). Two Indians started the play about as boys do

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

• 526 in a shinny game, often placing the ball on a small mound of earth resembling a golf tee. We are told that in some instances the ball was buried in the earth and that the two who started the play were required to dig it from the ground with their clubs before striking it.

I remember well that when I was a boy in the San Joaquin Valley I visited relatives who used this last method of starting the play in shinny. It was with great surprise that I afterward learned that the Indians had used the same method many years before, and that we had probably obtained it from them. Many pioneers have been surprised to find primitive Indians playing shinny. Few of them ever realized that it was originally an Indian game and that the whites first learned it from the Indians. [177]

On May 2, 1943, I for the last time interviewed the late Thomas A. Baker, son of the founder of Bakersfield. He told me of playing shinny with the Yowlumne Indian boys who lived in a village located in Bakersfield between where the Santa Fe passenger station and Mercy Hospital are now located. It is typical of the pioneer accounts of Yokuts shinny: "I remember that I used to play shinny with the Indian children. They used a block of wood about the size of a tennis ball, and almost any old stick they could find for a club. They were surely hard to beat at shinny, and were as rough as could be in their play. I have always been amazed that the Indians learned to play shinny so well so soon after the white people came here."

In playing the game most like ours, which was called *Daht'-k'hoo Nun-coo'-ish*, the goals were established about four hundred yards apart and consisted of two holes in the ground. The play was begun in the middle of the field, equally distant from each goal. Sides were chosen and the play began. One side attempted to take the ball to one of the goals and the other side tried to take it to the opposite goal. The game might continue for four hours and was ended as soon as the ball was goaled by one side.

The game most commonly played and called *Kahdahduitch* (Kah-dah-doo'-itch), was in the form of a race, and was elaborately staged and carefully managed. A paid umpire was necessary in conducting this game. He was dressed in Indian finery, consisting of feather headdress and feather skirt. Compared with one of our present day football officials, he would have been a striking figure. [292]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Kahdahduitch was played by two contesting teams of from three to seven men. Each team had a ball. A single goal, consisting of a hole in the ground, was established on a long starting line. The balls were placed on the starting line and the umpire yelled, *"He'-am tahn'-se,"* meaning "Everyone go!" Each team then struck its ball and the game was on. The balls were taken around an outpost, a tree, rock, or stake, about two hundred yards distant, and then returned to the goal. During the play the umpire followed the teams close enough to the outpost to be sure that the ball passed outside of it and then ran back to the finish to supervise the goaling. During the whole time he kept an eye open for any interference of one team with the other, which was not allowable. Throughout the contest his warning cry of *Low'-ill, Low'-ill, Low'-ill* was constantly repeated. 526

When both arrived at the goal at about the same time, the umpire watched the goaling and decided which team had precedence. His decision was final and indisputable.

The play was continuous, an immediate teeing off being made, until one team had goaled the ball the third time. When the third goal was made, the goaler held up his club and yelled a long drawn out *Co-coooooo.* This indicated that the game was over. If the play of his team had been fair, the umpire awarded the game and with it the prize of buck-skins, beads, or like treasure.

THE FOOTBALL GAME

As among the white people who now occupy the San Joaquin valley and compete for athletic honors, often on the very gaming grounds of the Yokuts, the most strenuous athletic game of the primitive Yokuts was football. Most persons are surprised to hear that the Indians were great gamesters and that there were generally games of all sorts going on at the rancheria at all hours of the day and evening. We are assured by old Indians, that foot racing was carried on long before the white people entered the valley, and that when a man was established as champion of a rancheria he was sent to neighboring rancherias and distant tribes to race the best men at those places.

The game of football varied slightly from tribe to tribe. We are assured that some tribes used a large wooden ball, *odud* (oh'-dud), about five inches in diameter, much larger than the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

● 526 ball used in playing shinny. Some of the tribes used a stone ball about the size of a tennis ball. These round, polished stones are more or less common throughout the San Joaquin Valley, but are seldom recognized as game stones by those who collect Indian relics. In the collection of the writer there are more than a dozen, several of which are as smoothly polished and as evenly rounded as most modern machine-made stone articles.

[291] As the Indians seldom wore a foot covering of any sort, and probably never when playing football, it will readily be appreciated that punting was not in practice. The toes were pushed under the ball and it was lifted and thrown by them. Old Indians say that the ball could be thrown fifty or sixty yards in this way and was a missile well worth avoiding.

The goal was established on a line with the starting point. It was about 400 yards from a stake, or outpost.

The method of goaling varied among the tribes, but is described by the Wukchumne as passing the ball between two stakes about four feet tall and set just far enough apart to allow clearance for it.

[549] [237] The wooden football was made from a burl obtained from the side of an oak tree. It was burned and whittled nicely round and was sometimes covered with untanned deerskin, (*hoey'-in chud'-way*).

Five men constituted a team. Two teams competed. Three men of each team stood abreast and about three steps behind the ball, which was placed on the starting line. The other two men followed about six yards distant.

There were four umpires, *Hokawtich* (Ho-kaw'-titch). Two umpires watched the goal and two watched the field. The umpires who stayed at the goal also kept an eye on the score keepers. One of the umpires acted as starter. He stood in the middle of the field and yelled, *"He'-am tan'-se,"* meaning "Everyone go!" Then the players quickly advanced, one team on each side of the goal, and the middle one in front in each team kicked the ball as far as he could.

The players followed the ball at top speed, but tried to maintain their position with relation to each other. If the ball did not go straight, one of the leading men at the side kicked it. If the leading man missed the ball all three kept running, but jumped to one side so that the following players could kick it past them.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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The game was a race between the two teams. The ball was taken to the stakes, set about 400 yards away from the goal. It was passed between the stakes and then back to goal.

The field umpires saw that there was no unfair interference upon the field. To count a goal the ball had to pass between the posts in the direction in which it was brought to the goal. It could not cross the starting line except between the goal posts.

As soon as the ball was goaled, it was immediately replaced on the starting line and the whole performance repeated. The umpire announced the goal and saw that the scorekeepers moved over one counting stick.

The game went to the team which took the football around the distant post and brought it back to the goal three times ahead of their opponents. The scorekeeper, called *Cu-puh'-utch*, used three short sticks, called *weched* (we'-ched), for each team. The game was not won until one side had won at least three straight goals, and had three weched to their opponents' none. In this way the game might continue with slight favor to either side until one team began to weaken. Their opponents could then run three straight goals quite easily.

The writer has received descriptions of other variations of the game from several persons who settled in the San Joaquin Valley during the fifties. In addition, he has talked with a number of old Indians concerning the game. But the most interesting account, although different from the Wukchumne game, was given by T. J. Mayfield, who as a boy, and later as a young man on upper Kings River, often took part in it. His account is given herewith:

"One of the most amusing games played by the Indians was a sort of football game. A round stone about two or two and one-half inches in diameter was used. This stone was often very round and nicely polished. The stone was not kicked, but was thrown. The toes were caught under and it was pushed, or thrown forward. Sides were chosen and goals arranged. Sometimes two trees about two hundred yards apart would be used for goals, or sticks might be planted for goals. Everyone played, and they surely made a rough house of it. One person started the ball. A point was scored when the stone was brought in contact with the goal of the opponents. They used to push, shove, hold, trip and wrestle. Sometimes one side would find that they had one or two more players than the other. Then

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

526 they would each hold one of the opposite side. This would leave one or two of their players to make a goal unhindered. Sometimes, when the ball was near the goal, both sides would crowd close, like a band of milling sheep. Then the ball might come rolling out between the many feet and some one would pass it to the other goal before the mass could break up and stop the play."

THE WOMEN'S DICE GAME

524 Among the common Yokuts games was the dice game, called *Hauchuish* (Hoo'-utch-oo'-ish), and played by women only. The game varied slightly among the San Joaquin tribes but was practically the same throughout that territory. It was played by four women, two pairs of partners.

The players were seated upon the ground, partners side by side and their opponents opposite. Between them was placed a large flat tray made of basketry material and having slightly upturned edges. This tray was called *ti'-won*. The dice, called *hoo'-utch*, were thrown upon the tray.

In some localities we were told that the dice were made of acorn caps, but in most instances they were made from nuts of the native black walnut. The nut was split in half, the kernel removed, and the hollow filled with pitch or asphaltum. Into the pitch were pressed small bits of abalone shell or white shell beads. In this way the dice were numbered from one to eight; in some instances to as many as twelve.

Considerable work was expended to make the dice accurate and attractive. The walnut shells were very smooth on the outside. I have seen these dice, after they have been used for years in gaming, when the edges have been worn round from continued shuffling.

As was the case with many Indian games, score was kept by means of small sticks, or *weched* (we'-ched). Twelve sticks were sometimes used in the dice game. The dice were gathered from the mat between the two hands and sometimes rolled together. They were then thrown upon the mat.

Four combinations were recognized in scoring. Three flat sides remaining up counted one point and one of the twelve sticks was awarded to the partners making the point. Two flat sides up counted one point. All flat sides up or all flat sides down counted five points each and awarded five of the counting sticks. When only one dice lay upon the tray with the flat side

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persons. The incident will serve to illustrate quite forcibly the Indian addiction to gambling.

Ishi was taken to the University of California and saw for the first time all of the wonderful inventions of our civilization, telephone, telegraph, motion picture, street cars, railroad trains and steamboats. Dr. Pope said that Ishi was only mildly interested in all of these things; that there was only one thing that impressed him and in which his interest continued. This consisted of several little sleight of hand tricks which the Doctor himself was able to perform.

Ishi would watch these tricks for hours and have them repeated again and again, trying to imitate them himself. These alone, of all the wonders about him, Ishi would have been able to realize upon in his primitive state. If he could have performed one of these miracles whenever he desired and produced a blank marker whenever he wanted it, he could have owned all of the deer skins and beads and other Indian finery on Mill Creek.

THE POLE AND HOOP GAME

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There were two games played by men and young boys upon the gaming court. One of them is known to white settlers as a pole and hoop game and the other as an arrow game. The best description of the pole and hoop game is furnished by T. J. Mayfield, who was raised by the *Choi-nim'-ne* Yokuts on upper Kings River. Mayfield's account of both the gaming court and the game itself follows:

"Each rancheria had a gaming court at, or near, its center. This court was made by smoothing the earth and tamping it solid. It was then covered with fine sand, and many games were played upon it.

"Here was always an excited, shouting, yelling, laughing group, generally including men, women and children, all intent upon their game and as carefree and happy as it is possible for human beings to be.

"The game I remember best was played with a hoop and a pole about ten feet long. The pole was about the same size as one of their fish spears. The hoop was made of bark coiled into a flat disc and held together with slender willow shoots.

"The disc was about one and one-half feet in diameter and had a hole in the center about two or three inches in diameter. Any, and everyone played this game.

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"Sides were chosen and one person selected from each side to roll the disc. These two persons stood about twenty or thirty yards apart and at each end of the game court. They rolled the disc back and forth between them. 526

"The game was to throw a pole through the disc as it rolled by. For each pole thrown through the disc two points were awarded to the side having the lucky, or accurate player.

"If the pole passed only partly through and knocked the disc over, it counted only one point. The players lined up on each side of the course where the disc was rolled. They laughed and yelled and made a great deal of noise at this game and did all they could to rattle the opposing players when they were about to throw a pole.

"This was a great deal more exciting game than you might think just from reading about it. When the disc was rolled across the court as many as thirty or forty poles would go flying through the air and the biggest problem in the game was to dodge the poles that came from the other side.

"They kept the score by calling it aloud much as we keep score in a game of horseshoes."

Like many other Yokuts games, the arrow game varied slightly from tribe to tribe. The *Wukchumne* on the Kaweah River played the game with wooden pointed arrows and a disc similar to that described by Mayfield for the pole and hoop game, but somewhat smaller. They described the disc as being about a foot in diameter and having a hole in the center approximately two inches in diameter. This disc was rolled back and forth between two men, one at each end of the gaming court. The players lined up on opposite sides and shot arrows at it. [184]

The disc was rolled six times, one point being awarded for each hit, a hit consisting of striking the disc with the arrow. The contestants who obtained the most hits in the six rolls won the game. The Yowlumne called the game *Taw-poi'-un* and the hoop *Taw'-poi*. The game court was called *In*. The scorekeeper was called *Trih-pa'-itch*.

Mayfield described a similar game as played by the Choinimne. This one used instead of the willow-bark disc a perforated stone about the size and shape of an ordinary doughnut. His account of this game follows:

"For another game a small perforated stone was rolled instead of the disc. This stone was about three or four inches in

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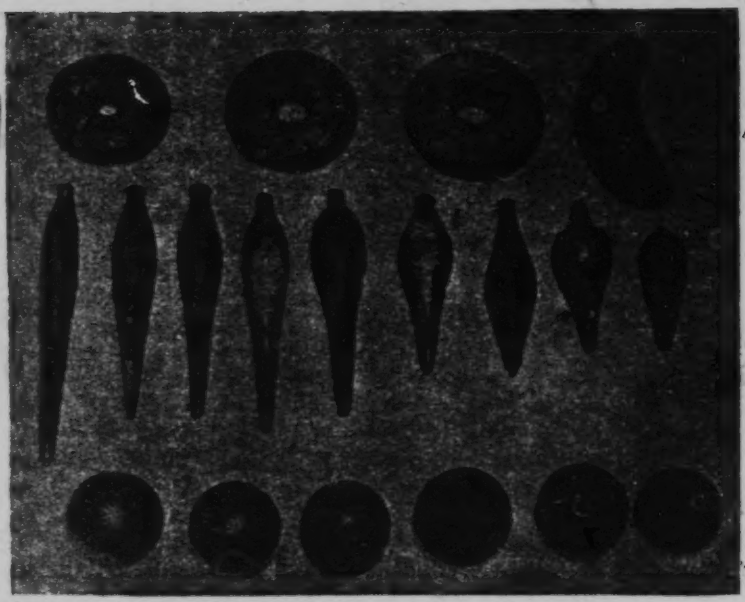

Top left are three perforated stones used in ceremonials and as game stones. At right is a crescent shaped stone, reported as having been used in a girls' adolescence ceremony. Center are charm stones. The one at the extreme right was found near Mountain View, Santa Clara County. The eight stones at the left were found in a "nest" at the Harris mound, six miles west of Tulare. Bottom row shows six stone footballs, found buried together under an oak tree on Kings River Island near Laton.

diameter and had a hole in the center about an inch in diameter.

"This game was played principally by the young men. It was a much quieter game than the disc game, but was scored in the same way. They shot wooden pointed arrows at the stone as it passed by.

[412] "This same stone was used to straighten their arrows and their shafts for gigging fish."

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

361 526 In addition to the statement made by Mayfield concerning the Indian game courts, we are assured by other pioneers who lived near the Indians during the early settlement of the San Joaquin Valley, as well as by old Indians themselves, that

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a gaming court was maintained at each village site. As has already been described, this court generally consisted of a smooth, level place, free from rocks and generally covered with a thin layer of fine sand. From numerous remains over the valley it is known that the court was longer than it was wide. Remains of such courts have been found which were fifteen to thirty feet in width and from twenty to sixty yards in length.

Upon these courts a number of games were played. Some of the games were participated in by old and young. Some were played by men only, and some played by children only. The writer has heard of no Yokuts athletic type game played exclusively by women.

Pioneers in the vicinity of Hanford and Lemoore have said that the Indians played a game upon these courts which resembled very much the white man's game of pitch-penny. Circular thin rocks were pitched at a line. The writer has been able to find no data concerning this game and is of the opinion that it was an imitation of the practice of soldiers and whites of pitching money at a line.

Another game consisted of rolling round rocks at a hole in the ground and resembled the "purgatory" game played with marbles by white boys.

A typical children's game was called *Mohoo* (Mo-ho'-o), meaning Bear game. The game began with one child, who was called Mohoo or bear, pursuing the rest of the players.

As soon as Mohoo was able to catch or touch one of the other players, that person also became a bear and helped to catch the rest. This was carried on until the last person was caught. This person became bear for the next game. It was considered an honor to be caught last and also to be the bear for the succeeding game. In playing this game the children ran about the rancheria, climbed upon houses, into trees, and even plunged across the river.

Another similar game was played entirely in the water, and called *Huwidwush* (Hoo-wid'-wush). It was really the bear game, engaged in while the youngsters were swimming, and was a game of water tag. Swimming races took place between the bear and his opponents. Diving, remaining under water, and other methods were used to elude the pursuing bear.

It is unfortunate that a great deal of information concerning the Yokuts games will probably never be forth-coming, for the reason that those Indians were thoroughly disturbed by the

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526 white settlers before such data was gathered. When such work was begun, gaming had almost passed out of existence, and as a result, rules, names and other details had been forgotton. However, it can easily be seen from the amount of information [181] presented upon these pages that the Yokuts were not the sullen, undemonstrative people we imagine them, but were, instead, a laughing, carefree, gaming race.

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The people in each village were divided on two sides. They were divided in the family and in the village too. One side played against the other in the games. 159 524 616

One side was called *Tokelewits* (To-q'hell'-e-wits) and the other *Nutuwits* (Noo'-too-wits). The Tokelewits are on the west. At the big meetings they sit on the west. Their person is *Ahl'-wut,* the crow. The Nutuwits are on the east. At the big meetings they sit on the east. Their person is *Ki-yu,* the Coyote. I am a Tokelewits. My father was a Tokelewits. My mother was a Nutuwits. In all of the big games my father would be on my side. My mother would play against us.

When one side won at the Indian games their best players used to go away to play at other villages. Sometimes they went a long distance. My mother told me that players from *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) at Laton came to play where she was born at *Chaw-lo'-win* where Alpaugh is now. They came carrying heavy burden baskets with fish and their game things, shinny-stick, football and other things. 159 524 [484]

When some players winning for Kiyu, or for Crow, came back to their village they would be carrying the baskets on their backs. The baskets would be empty of food. They would sing as loud as they could when they were a long way off: [539]

A-na' a-na' a-nin'-a kow'-kow.
(sung four times)
A-na'-na.

This song means like, "We won, we are here, we are hungry and we want to eat."

The people in their home village would be so glad they won. They would run out with something to eat and would throw presents in their empty baskets. If they lost, the players would sneak in quietly and go to bed.

My people played a game with bows and arrows and a ring called *waw'-poi-un.* They played on the smooth game ground by the village. They used bows made of elderberry wood and wooden pointed arrows. We called the bow *tah-tip,* and the arrows *tu'-yose.* They were the same used for hunting around camp. 159 526

The *Win-at'-un* [messenger for the chief] rolled the ring and the players stood at the side and shot at the ring as it went by. When he rolled the ring the Winatun called, *"He'-ahm tahn'-hin."* He meant, "Are you ready?" or, "Here it comes." [624]

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159 When they played for fun they did not keep the score. If
526 they gambled they played ten or twenty points. The Winatun
kept the score by marking on the ground with his toe.

[525] The ring was made of tules. It was about twelve inches
[802] across. It had a hole about the size of my fist in the middle.
It was wound tightly with tules. We make a point when an arrow hit the ring and stuck in it, not when it went through the hole in the center.

The Tulare Lake Indians had a football game, too. They called it *tahl'-wats*. For a football they used a burl from an ash tree. It was about as big as a baseball. We called the ball *aw'-lul tah-ow'-chit*.

Some Indians used a rock for a football. I heard that the Nutunutu did that. I never saw it. The wooden ball was heavy enough. We did not kick the ball. We caught our toes under it and threw it with our feet.

Two people played at once. They took the ball around a tree or a stake about two hundred yards from where they started. They called the goal *sick'-aht*. The players carried the ball around the outpost and back to the goal as fast as they could.

They went around the post in opposite directions. *Hipaets* (Hih-pa'-eets) the referee, ran along with them to see that they went around the outpost and that they did not touch the
[802] other person's ball. We kept the score with small sticks, which we called *we'-chet*.

The *Chunut* (Choo-noot) had a shinny game, too. We called that *Kats-le'-wits*. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) had another kind called *Kawm'-wats*. A lot of people played in that game. I saw all of the Tokelewits at *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-e) play against all the Nutuwits at one time in the Wowol game. I think there must be two hundred people in that game. My side, the Tokelewits, won.

In both shinny games we used a club made from the ash tree. The crooked part was made from the root. They made them nice and smooth and dried them in the fire. That made them good and strong. We called the shinny club *kah'-tahl*.

In the Chunut game we put the outpost about two hundred yards away from the goal stick. The goal stick we called *sick'-it*. The outpost we called *kaw-naw'-um wa'-uh* [the turning place]. It was a race between two teams. Each team had a ball. There were three or four players on each side. The

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referee started them and kept the score. The game was over when one side was three turns ahead of the other. 159

Shinny was a rough game. Lots of people got hurt at it. They would get in front of the other ball and try to stop it and would get hit by it. The same ball was used for shinny that we used in football. 526

The players on each side did not all run together. One started the ball. He knocked it to a man about fifty yards away. That man knocked it to another. The farthest player took the ball around the post and knocked it back to the others. They knocked it back to the start. Good players did not have to run very much.

The Wowol played a different kind of shinny. I saw them play it. They called it *Kawm'-wats*. They had two goals about two hundred yards apart. One was to the west. It was called *too-qhell* and the Tokelewits took their ball to that side. The one at the east was called *naws'-to*. The Nutuwits took their ball to that side. The goals were two stakes, about two feet apart. To make a point the ball had to pass between the stakes. That made a game, unless they were gambling. Then they played three points ahead. [525]

The Wowol started halfway between the goals. They buried the ball in loose dirt. They called the starting place *lo-kaw'-lah-tun*. Two men started the game. When the Hipaets called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," the two starters began to dig the ball out of the dirt with their clubs.

The Tokelewits got between the starters and the Nutuwits' goal. The Nutuwits got on the other side. As soon as the ball started, everyone ran after the ball and hit at it with their clubs. We had lots of fun at this game.

At the village play-ground the children and young men played another game called *I-ke'-wits*. They threw a long stick at a bundle of tules. The stick was about as high as your head. It had a sharp wooden point and feathers on the other end like an arrow.

The tules were tied tight into a bundle and one end buried in the ground. About one foot was out of the ground. It was a little bigger than your arm. We made a point when we stuck the stick in the tule bundle. We called the stick *i'-yuk*. We threw it about fifty feet. A game was twenty hits.

We played another game called *Cuh-moom'-wits*. We used the stone that is round and has a hole in it like a doughnut. We

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159 called the stone *Cuh-moom'-wum We'-ah* [thunder and lightning stone].
526 The Winatun rolled the stone on the village game place. He called out like he did for the start of the other games.

The players stood at one side like they did in the ring and arrow game. But they counted the points different. They had a point when the arrow went through the hole. Only the good hunters played this game. It was a gambling game.

The boys played another game with the same round stone. They set it on some loose dirt and shot arrows through it. They counted it the same as when they rolled it. I do not remember what they called this game.

159 The Chunut men had a long game to guess which hand they
524 had *Ahlewus* (Ah-le'-wus), the bone, in. They called the game Ahlewus, too. That was what the Wowol called it. The Chunut called it *Wa-luh'-wus*. I do not know the guessing game very well. Only men played it. The Wowol used only one bone to guess for. Some tribes used two bones, a white one and a black one. The men sat on the ground facing each other with a deer skin or a blanket on the ground between them. They put their hands behind them to hide the bone. Then they brought it in front, hidden in their hands.

The man on the other side tried to guess which hand the bone was in. If he guessed it was in the left hand one finger was pointed at the left hand. If he changed his mind quick he could point two fingers on the same hand. That meant the bone was in the other hand, in the one he was not pointing at. They kept count with small sticks, ten, I think. They sang a song with it, but I do not remember it. I only played that game once. We did not think it was nice for women to play that game.

Both the Wowol and Chunut women played a game with dice. They played it on a big tray made like a basket, called *ti'-won*. The game was called *Huchuish* (Hoo-choo'-ish). Four women played at one tiwon. They threw dice on the tiwon. The dice were made of walnut shells filled with pitch. They were numbered from one to eight by fastening beads or pieces of abalone shell into the pitch. Sometimes they were made of big acorn caps. The dice were called *hoo'-wawts*.

The Chunut used thirteen *we'-chet* [scoring sticks] to keep the count. When two women won all of the sticks twice in succession they won the game. The dice were gathered in the

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hands and rolled out on the tiwon. When all flat sides were down they called *keel'-pah.* That counted four points. Two flat sides up counted one point and they called *pawn'-yo.* Three flat sides down were one point. This was called *yeat'-suh.* All flat sides up counted two points and they called *chahl'-ahl.* Two flat sides down or one up lost the dice and the other side took them. As they threw the dice they clapped their hands together and waved them back and forth above the rolling dice to make them come up right and called *e-lake'.*

There was a song that went with the Huchuish game but I have forgotten it. I never did play it much. I was too busy. I had to work too much. Sometimes the games would go two days. They gambled at it. Men never played it.

We children used to play a game at water tag called *Tuewats* (Too'-e-wats). We started out with one person called *Tue* (Too'-e). He had to catch the rest. You had to stay in the water or in a tree over the water. If you stepped on the dry ground you were Tue right away. Tue called, *"Too-yahl'-mum he-ahm,"* meaning "Tag me if you can." As soon as Tue tagged one person that person had to help him catch the rest. It went that way until they all caught the last one.

We children played a coyote game, too. It was like an old story my mother used to tell me. It was called *Hih'-suh Na'-es,* just like the story. The Wowol called it *Hih'-ke. Kiyoo* was "it." He had to sit on the ground. He could not run around. He partway shut his eyes, but it was all right for him to peek. He was supposed to.

The other children would run around and around him and up close to him and then away. They were supposed to touch him if they could. If Kiyoo could reach out quick and catch one of them he had to sit on the ground behind Kiyoo like he was dead and wait until all were caught.

While the game was going on we all sang a little song over and over. It went

Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Wus'-wus.

The old Hihsuh Naes story went like this:

In the old days there were lots of little yellow birds that played in the tules and sunflowers around Tulare Lake. We called them *Taw-tawk'-its.* The white people called them gold-

[p.10-A]

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eating of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, [262] 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 778 [276] The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplishing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (taw xo·xo·hin mani' yokots) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going along." Western Mono myths more often refer to [171] the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati' co'in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for an early spring." The taboo on summer story- [784] telling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people stayed outside and played. According to the same [574] informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversation would evoke such recountings. Adolescent [883] Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's